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ANEC

OF

JUNIUS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The KING's REPLY.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY P. BYRNE, No. 108, GRAFTON-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

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IN the beſt editions of JUNIUS's LETTERS, *the King's Anſwer has hitherto been unnoticed.*———*The following reply is ſuppoſed to have been written by a Nobleman, once high in office, but now,* "A MONUMENT OF DEPARTED GREATNESS."

To which are added ſome intereſting Anecdotes of JUNIUS;—*collected in the year* 1771.

The KING in REPLY, &c.

DECEMBER 25th, 1769.

To JUNIUS.

'FACTION may be reſembled to bodies
'in their deſcent, their motion is increaſed in
'proportion to the ſpace they fall through.
'No great degree of ſagacity was requiſite to
'foretell that a writer who had malevolently
'attacked the greateſt Officers of the State,
'would at laſt lay his hand upon the Throne,
'and ſhake even the Monarch; who wiſhed
'he would not forfeit every title to Clemency.
'An animating ſtile is far from inveſtigating a
'Subject

'Subject with a right to raiſe himſelf upon a 'level with his ſovereign, and to arraign his 'conduct in terms that ſhew a total diſregard 'to decency and to allegiance. But ſuppoſing 'ſuch an outrage could at any time exiſt; ſup-'poſing the Sovereign ſhould lay aſide the ſcep-'tre and deſcend to the character of a Fellow-'Subject; he might expreſs himſelf in terms 'of this kind, which, though abſtracted from 'the forms of royalty, might ſtill convey his 'ideas in expreſſions drawn from his real cha-'racter, and breathe all the benevolence of 'one who is paternally affected for the welfare 'of his Subjects.'

I AM not ſurpriſed at the attack lately received from the pen of JUNIUS.—His pen ſpares no characters.—Impunity, inſtead of furniſhing him with ſuſpicion, has hardened him in effrontery. But calumny and ſedition is the characteriſtic of the age: he may have been willingly carried down the ſtream, becauſe it will land on the ſhore of Popularity. To abuſe extraordinary talents is the higheſt ingratitude that can be committed againſt their donor.

nor. It ſavours much of the conduct of the firſt rebel in the creation, who was both a being of the higheſt order of intelligent creatures, and was likewiſe a devil.

HAD JUNIUS urged any thing worthy of notice, unleſs it be for its malignity, he would have been indulged all the freedom of a Patriot, and I would have laid aſide the King to become a Diſciple. A long letter, which has a tendency to diſturb the tranquillity of my reign, is ſtretched out to its enormous length by trite maxims; and every artifice is employed to alienate the affections of my ſubjects. The charms of novelty are neglected to introduce the poiſon of malignity, and I am to be expoſed to my people, for being in the ſame circumſtances as other Kings have been in before me.

IT has been frequently obſerved by the votaries of the people, that the voice of Truth ſeldom reaches the ears of a King. This may too often be the caſe with weak and arbitrary Princes; but will my greateſt enemy, will even

JUNIUS

JUNIUS dare to ſtigmatize me with being arbitrary or deſpotic? Has there never been a popular Miniſter in this Kingdom? What is the general character of BURLEIGH and WALSINGHAM? They certainly conveyed the dictates of truth to the ears of royalty, and are ſufficient to explode the maxim of the people.—A patriotic Prince may find it as difficult to be addreſſed with the falſehood of adulation, as a deſpotic one with the oracles of truth.

THE language of complaint is not always the language of truth. Grievances may not be real. Faction will create cauſes of complaint, if ſhe cannot find them already exiſting, and popular diſcontents, when traced to their ſource, may rather be the murmurs of a few diſaffected, than the real ſighs of an injured nation. The hiſtories of all nations abound with inſtances in proof of this aſſertion: pity it is that will not prevent future ages from committing ſimilar miſtakes!

THE people are too ſoon ſeduced to join in the cry againſt their ſuperiors, and their paſſions

paſſions are too often captivated by thoſe who are unable to convince their underſtanding.

But I am to be precluded every topic which I could urge in my defence: my conduct is aſſerted to be wrong from principle, and the *leſſons I have learned* from my youth are ſtigmatized as pernicious. Yet ſtill I am ſaid to be *naturally benevolent*: but how that could be after my habits were become pernicious by education, is a problem of which few will undertake the ſolution.

It is much in my favour that my nature was originally good, as it has reſcued me from an inconvenience that is a ſpecies of treaſon; for unleſs it had been ſo, I am told by one of my ſubjects, that they would long ſince have adopted a ſtile of remonſtrance very diſtant from the humility of complaint. What this ſtile is, let the nation judge—nay, let Junius explain.—The menace is little better than the menace of ſedition.—If we ſhould trace the thunderbolt

to the hand from whence it was caſt, it would be found to have proceeded from the hand of BRIAREUS, who was engaged in an attack to dethrone JUPITER.

THE general maxim that *the King can do no wrong*, which was intended to ſecure majeſty againſt the poiſoned ſhafts of malecontents, is wreſted to inflict wounds in my government; and too often in the natural world, thoſe gifts which were deſigned by nature to ſupport life, are converted into means of deſtroying it.—The latter may be aſcribed to perverſity of judgment, the former to perverſity of will.

I ASCENDED the throne with a ſincere and determined reſolution to give univerſal ſatisfaction to my ſubjects; I looked on myſelf as accountable to the KING OF KINGS, in the diſcharge of my duty: and when I conſidered that my will, and pleaſure and happineſs, depended on following the dictates of my conſcience, I thought myſelf well ſecured from doing amiſs. The general acclamation and joy

of

of the nation on my acceſſion, made me promiſe myſelf that my throne would be placed in the hearts of my ſubjects; and when I conſidered the thorns which twine themſelves round the diadem, I imagined the people would be more ready to invite me to aſſume the ſceptre, than I really was to accept it.

THE brighteſt ſunſhine is too often intercepted by a cloud. I find, too ſoon, that earthly glory, like light in its progreſs, is liable to fits and intermiſſions. The very means I took to ſecure general affection, were urged againſt me, to deprive me of ſo ineſtimable an acquiſition. Declared the King of ſeveral nations, I looked upon the natives of each kingdom as my ſubjects. I thought they ought equally to participate of my affections. Impartiality demanded this; and I know that partiality is in a Monarch a ſpecies of injuſtice.

THE comprehenſive term of being KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, whiſpered to me that all the ſubjects in Great Britain were equally allied to

me as their ſovereign. The Tweed did not bound my dominions: thoſe that were born north of that river were as much my ſubjects as thoſe that were born nearer the place of my reſidence. My affection ſpread itſelf like the light of the ſun, into every corner of my dominions; and I knew no other reſtraint, no other attraction to my favors but deſert. The North as well as the South Briton partook equally of the warmth of my bounty. I was King of both, and was bound to treat them both as my ſubjects. None but a perſon of a narrow mind, could blame me for making my benevolence general. He that would blame me for this, muſt blame the ſun for ſhining upon other nations as well as his own. I know indeed that ſome malecontents thought me partial, becauſe all my favors were not confined to thoſe that were born on the ſouth of the Tweed; and they ſtigmatized my generoſity with the invidious term of predilection. I looked upon myſelf as a common Father to all my ſubjects, wherever diſſeminated;—— ſurely it is not a crime in a father to let all his children have a ſhare in his heart! So

far

far was I from being biaſſed by any error imbibed in my education, that I diveſted myſelf of the natural predilection which every one has to the peculiar ſpot in which he was born, and I looked upon myſelf in the ſame light as the ancient ſage; I looked upon myſelf not as a citizen of the world, but as if born in every diſtrict of my dominion, and bound to careſs them all with equal portions of affection.

The alteration made in the ſyſtem of government, was the effect of deliberation; it does not become me to add, of wiſdom likewiſe.—I do not think myſelf obliged to reveal the ſecrets of government to vindicate myſelf from the aſperſions of every one who blames my conduct. A condeſcenſion of this kind would unhinge every part of ſtate machinery, extirpate the very idea of ſubordination, and erect anarchy upon the ruins of order and government. It was neceſſary to change what would not be controlled, and deſpotiſm in a miniſter was eſteemed no leſs intolerable than in a prince It can be no crime in a ſovereign to rule;

rule; it would be a weakneſs in him to ſuffer himſelf to be ruled by a ſervant.

I AM blamed for diſcarding a miniſter, who was at that time very popular; but ſure I cannot be blamed for that ſtep now, for even the people have diveſted him of the feathers with which they had dreſſed him, and have more than once pronounced him unworthy of popularity.

IF my conduct may admit a vindication in theſe points, it is not leſs vindicable with reſpect to Mr. WILKES the *god of the people's idolatry*. The outrages he committed againſt my perſon, the aſperſions which he caſt upon my deareſt relations, were long ſuffered with contempt, with impunity, if not with pity. As the higheſt ſtretch of law may become injuſtice in the opinion of the Roman Moraliſt, ſo when clemency is carried too far, it becomes criminal. I never thought, that when I put on my crown, I ceaſed to be a man; or that at the time when I accepted of the ſceptre, I ceaſed to be a ſon. If filial duty reigned ſtill in my heart,

heart, religion will pardon me the commiſſion of that crime; if filial duty reigned ſtill in my heart, let the ſon judge, for the ſon only can judge the agonies which I felt at the aſperſions which were caſt upon her to whom I owe my birth.——To defend her could be no crime; to puniſh her calumniator, was to obey the call of Juſtice. But even in this point, I ſuffered royalty to ſtifle the agonies of the man, and bearing a public character, I would not ſuffer myſelf to be rouſed, by leſs than a public injury.

The laws ſhowed reſentment to be founded upon juſtice; the delinquent is now ſuffering no puniſhment from perſonal pique, but the puniſhment he has called down upon his own head, by infringing thoſe ſanctions which are the bulwarks of civil life, and the only props of government. Even in the midſt of puniſhment, I liſtened to the voice of mercy, and the lenity of my government ſhone forth, even in the pains which were inflicted upon the delinquent. In this caſe, the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights were adhered to, with unexam-

unexampled ſcrupuloſity. The ſatisfaction awarded, was rather the ſatisfaction of a private perſon than that of a monarch; it ſatisfied me; for *homo ſum*, &c. is as much my favourite maxim, as that of the moſt compaſſionate individual. The *rays of royal clemency were collected upon* WILKES, in greater quantities than thoſe of indignation; and it was my intention to illuminate and inſtruct, not to conſume.

IT is no ſurpriſing thing, that he ſhould be aggrandized by his puniſhments. The lower order of mankind fix their attention more upon the ſufferings than the crime; and when their hearts are melted into compaſſion, they in a manner forget that the ſufferer is a criminal. It is not my intention to deſtroy, but to ſave. When the delinquent is worthy of favour, my arms are open to receive him: and, if I underſtand the workings of my own heart, I would rather die to ſave the meaneſt individual, than force an individual to die, to ſave me.

FACTION will always ſow her ſeeds, in the beſt governments; why not in mine as well as another's? It is her peculiar province to diſtort the truth which ſhe cannot annihilate; and an erroneous ſight is ſometimes more pernicious than total blindneſs. Through her glaſs, the moſt minute object appears very conſiderable; why then ſhould we wonder at the aggrandizement of Mr. WILKES, when it is known he appears ſo, only through the microſcope of faction?

THE expulſion of Mr. WILKES, and the election of COL. LUTTRELL, afford a wide field for cenſure to expatiate in. Like other controverted points they may be agitated a long time, and may never be brought to a deciſion. The lawyers have argued the caſe *pro* and *con*; each ſide is ſanguine; each thinks himſelf in the right. But how are we to know on which ſide the truth lies, when each oppoſite party avers that it lies on his? The only judge of theſe controverſies the HOUSE OF COMMONS have indeed decided the caſe. Shall I ſnatch the balance out of their hands? Shall I ſhew myſelf arbi-

trary becauſe I am accuſed, falſely accuſed of being ſo? Shall I overturn the power of parliament, one of the pillars of the conſtitution, and take a ſtep that would give deſpotiſm all the advantages it deſires over freedom? No! I was raiſed to govern a free people. I would ſcorn to be king over a nation of ſlaves. The greateſt glory of an earthly king is to reſemble the KING OF KINGS; and his ſervice is perfect freedom. It is a remarkable circumſtance in my favour, that the ſame perſons that cenſure my conduct, fix the brand of calumny upon the great ſenate of the kingdom. In days of deſpotiſm, the monarch and the parliament were always at variance; and it is an infallible ſymptom of civil liberty and conſtitutional rectitude, that all the three branches of the conſtitution ſhould be unanimous. Shall I cut down the prop which ſupports my palace? The voice of faction may demand it, but the voice of freedom irreſiſtibly forces me to leave the national council without control. It ſhall be free; I would ſooner be enſlaved myſelf, than promote the triumphs of ſlavery. The affections of my ſubjects cannot be purchaſed too dearly.

I live

I live only to promote their welfare. While I regulate my conduct upon the principles of reason, I am secure of the love of all the lovers of their country. My interest is inseparable from theirs, and while they have any regard for themselves, they cannot but have as great a one for me. The calm and dispassionate, the rational subject has already assured me of his loyalty; I can have no other enemy but the foe to his country, and the enemy of order. I can never be hated or despised while I pursue the paths of honour and justice. Nor shall my conduct be perverted by the clamours of malecontents.—*Non civium ardor prava jubentium,* is a maxim that describes and ennobles the duty of royalty. Inconsistency only can give birth to contempt. Malevolence is only the parent of hatred. As I shall avoid both the progenitors, I am under no apprehension from their offspring. Ask me not upon what part of my subjects I would rely for assistance! I claim the assistance of all. I claim it upon the natural right of a parent; and the son may as soon draw his sword upon his father, as any of my subjects may upon me.

IRELAND knows I have merited her eſteem; though the daughter, ſhe is not leſs careſſed than the mother. America may be conſidered in the ſame light. Neither of them would murmur from what they feel, but from what they have been taught. The complaints of either are not the complaints of diſtreſs, but the mere echoes of ſeditious demagogues. It is true, they may make a noiſe; but the voice, if articulate, is not ſuggeſted by a heart, which hath felt a real pang. Not doubtful of finding many an unperverted ſubject in either of thoſe regions, I am ſtill leſs doubtful of my northern ſubjects. If royal favours can ſecure fidelity, I may aſſure myſelf of their's. When their conduct is altered from what it has been, they have a claim not only for forgiveneſs, but likewiſe for reward. And having already taſted the ſweets of allegiance, they can have no cauſe for not being faithful.

THE army is neither my laſt nor my beſt reſource. The Guards deſerve my protection, and being neareſt my perſon cannot but claim my

my attention. The other regiments may wiſh to be guards, and if the guards were to be ſubſtituted in their place, they would wiſh to be guards again. This is an honour which only one part of the military can enjoy, and to grieve or to grow ſullen on that account, would be to realize the fable of the conteſt between the belly and its members. The *marching regiments have a ſtrong ſenſe of the great original duty they owe their country*; I have no cauſe to doubt their fidelity. To doubt would be to deſerve.—Every department of the army has had all the rewards they purchaſed by their merits. Their eminent ſervices have raiſed them to eminent poſts. Nor can there ever exiſt the ſame conteſts here as among the Romans; the prætorian bands and the diſtant legions will never be at variance, and if they ſhould be, it will never be in the power of the diſtant legions, nor even of the prætorian bands to give away the empire of Great Britain.

WHICH way ſoever I look, I ſee no cauſe for perplexity or diſtreſs. I have deſerved the affection

affection of my ſubjects and will rely upon them. Our happineſs is interwoven, is incorporated. God has joined them together—let no mortal therefore dare to put them aſunder. To exert prerogative to its full extent, would be to procure a divorce. To exert it in a caſe in which *I have no immediate concern*, would be to forfeit more than life; it would be to forfeit the confidence of future parliaments, and even the confidence of all my ſubjects in general. It is both *my intereſt and my duty to prevent the three eſtates from encroaching upon the province of each other*. With what face then can I begin the encroachment, or depart from the conſtitutional line, which terminates the ſphere of my prerogative?

The liberties taken with the preſent Houſe of Commons deſerve no countenance, as they have no foundation. General cenſure is no cenſure at all; it is a tribute which commonly attends deſert, and it is the indication of merit likewiſe. All parliaments have been blamed more or leſs, and till there be a poſſibility of meeting with one that ſhall pleaſe all parties,

ties, it would be in vain to ſtruggle for it.—The very impoſſibility is a ſtronger proof of the flouriſhing ſtate of freedom. Only in a ſtate of ſlavery, all ſubjects are of one opinion.

I ſhould be poor indeed, *if the fortune which made me a king forbad me to have a friend.* Every one of my ſubjects is my friend, and I am and will be his. *They who are convinced that the eſtabliſhment of the family of Hanover was neceſſary to the ſupport of their civil and religious liberties* were my friends,—and muſt ſtill be ſo. I deſire no other throne but the hearts of my people; and while I ſecure that, I ſhall fear no revolution, from a conviction that the ſame principles which brought my anceſtors to the Crown, will always be powerful enough to keep it in my family.

ANECDOTES

OF

JUNIUS:

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN IN THE YEAR

MDCCLXXI.

ANECDOTES.

OF all the political writers that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick to the throne of Great Britain, the author of JUNIUS's LETTERS is undoubtedly one of the moſt eminent. Others have eſpouſed as noble a cauſe, and with equal zeal, but few or none equal abilities. We have living inſtances of popular orators, who rave by the hour, in the ſenate, for "Rome and for their country," whoſe talents, as writers, are nevertheleſs inadequate to the penning a common epiſtle of buſineſs

or compliment with literary elegance, or even grammatical propriety. Eloquent therefore, as ſome of them may be accounted for their manner of delivery, the matter of their argument muſt ever be held in ſuſpicion; unleſs we conceive that modern authors, like French prophets and fanatical teachers, know by intuition, and ſpeak by inſpiration; or that men may think more coolly, reaſon more juſtly, and expreſs themſelves more pertinently, amidſt the interrupting ſneers, winks, nods, and noiſe of a numerous aſſembly, than when alone and undiſturbed in their own cloſet.

Among ſuch indifferent ſpeakers, and ſtill more indifferent writers, many of them notwithſtanding of the firſt rank and diſtinction by birth or fortune, it is no wonder that a man of ſuperior talents and aſpiring diſpoſition ſhould make his way into the ſenate, where ſuch a dearth of abilities ſo preſſingly invited him. It is a little alſo to be wondered at, that he ſhould be called forward, by the patronage of thoſe who ſtood in need of his ſervice, and were judges of his merit,

merit, to the diſplay of thoſe literary and rhetorical powers for which he is ſo juſtly celebrated.

THUS, by the favour of the diſcerning GREAT, JUNIUS ſaw himſelf early in life, raiſed to a ſituation, for which, though by nature and education peculiarly qualified, he was not by family or fortune ſo favourably entitled. JUNIUS, however, is of a good family of a neighbouring kingdom, whoſe greateſt abaſement, like that of many others of the ſame nation, is that of having been more prolific than rich.

HAVING finiſhed his academical ſtudies, he entered the world therefore like a ſoldier of fortune; with this difference, that while others of his brave countrymen wielded the ſword, or brandiſhed the ſpontoon, in the ſervice of their country abroad, JUNIUS employed a more formidable weapon, his pen, in the ſame cauſe at home. This he has continued to do on almoſt every important occaſion, ſo effectually, that if his ſucceſs hath done honour to his patrons in their choice of ſuch a champion, the ſide he hath taken on every intereſting

intereſting queſtion has reflected no leſs honour on the rectitude of his underſtanding, than it hath recommended that of his heart; at leaſt to thoſe who have ſtill charity enough to believe, that amidſt a multitude of apoſtate patriots, there may be yet one faithful ABDIEL to be found.

FROM the greateſt abilities, engaged in the beſt of cauſes, it is natural to expect an end proportional to the means; and that every point muſt be carried that was once authorized by reaſon, and enforced by rhetoric. But in a country governed by parties, the beſt of cauſes ſtands equally in need of the beſt ſupport with the worſt, and even with all the advantages on its ſide is often given up againſt reaſon, and abandoned without regret.

IT is not our deſign to write a panegyric on the author of the following letters; the reception they have already met with in the world, hath anticipated that deſign, and rendered a more formal execution of it unneceſſary. To this general ſketch of the bright ſide of the picture,

picture, we ſhall therefore proceed to point out ſome of thoſe particular and diſtinguiſhing touches of character ; which, if they do not ſerve to ſoften the colouring, and heighten the beauty of the portrait, will tend at leaſt to give it a more ſtriking likeneſs, and afford a true and natural reſemblance of the original.

We ſhall do this alſo without fear of giving offence to the author ; as no man of his ſenſe and experience would wiſh to be flatteringly and fallaciouſly repreſented as one of thoſe "faultleſs monſters which the world ne'er ſaw." It is with the author as with his works;

"Whoever thinks a perfect piece to ſee,
"Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er ſhall be."

Were we diſpoſed, in imitation of Plutarch, to draw a parallel, the writer, whoſe talents thoſe of Junius ſeem moſt toreſemble, is the late Lord Bolingbroke. It was probably this congeniality of mental abilities, rather than any error in judgment, that led our author

author in one of the earlieſt pieces with which he obliged the world, to copy the ſtile and ſentiments of that noble writer ſo exactly, that the performance paſſed, for ſome time, even with the critics and connoiſſeurs as a poſthumous production of his Lordſhip.

THIS piecew as entitled, " A Vindication of Natural Society ; or a View of the Miſeries and Evils ariſing to mankind from every Species of artificial ſociety*." If the title of this tract carried with it the air of irony, its contents were perfectly conformable ; experience, however, on this, as on many other occaſions, ſerves ſadly to confirm the veracity of that trite though pertinent proverb, that " Truth is often ſpoken in jeſt."

THIS little performance may be regarded as a *certamen ingenii*, a kind of exerciſe of his

* Written in the character of the noble writer above mentioned, and in the form of a letter to LORD · · · ·.—It was firſt printed in the year 1756, and is to be found in Dodſley's collection of fugitive pieces.

literary

literary and logical abilities; and affords no mean proof of the proficiency he had made in the rhetorical and dialectic arts.

Of the ſame kind are thoſe little critiques on political publications, with which our author, about that time, occaſionally favoured thoſe well-known farragoes of literary and political criticiſm, the Reviews: thoſe very heterogeneous works, that during a courſe of upwards of twenty years, have worn a very different face at different times, and have been very unequally executed by different authors, gentle and ſimple, whigs and tories, learned and unlearned, ſceptical and credulous; compoſing the moſt motley groupe of writers that ever at once informed and infeſted ſociety.

Had Junius the vanity of a certain rival politician, now ſeated at the Board of Treaſury, he would probably wiſh to have it forgotten that he ever acted the part of an obſcure and anonymous reviewer; but when he reflects that they were both labourers in the ſame vineyard with

men, who, like themſeles, have ſince riſen to conſideration and eminence, both in church and ſtate, he muſt reflect alſo, with ſome complacency, on the means by which they whetted their wits to qualify them for the poſts and offices they ſo well do, or ſo ardently wiſh to ſuſtain *.

THE reputation our author acquired by his ironical vindication of natural ſociety, received a conſiderable addition by his celebrated treatiſe on " The Origin of our Ideas

* The reader will poſſibly be not a little diverted at the diverſity of the following ſpecimen of a liſt of ſucceſſive reviewers.

CHURCHMEN { ARCHBISHOP SECKER, BISHOPS { WARBURTON, LOWTH, DIGNITARIES { DR. KING. MASTER of the TEMPLE.

LAWYERS { JUDGE BLACKSTONE BARRISTERS { DR OWEN RUFFHEAD, ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQR.

PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, and POLITICIANS. { CHARLES JENKINSON, ESQ. *a Lord of the Treaſury.* EDMUND BURKE, ESQR. M. P. DAVID HUME, ESQR. P. P. ATHENIAN STUART, *Serjeant Painter.* RALPH, GUTHRIE, SAM. JOHNSON, DR. HILL, CAMPBELL, SMOLIETT, SHEBBEARE, SHERIDAN, &c.

of

of the Sublime and Beautiful:" a work that made its firſt appearance with great eclat, and obtained the writer the diſtinguiſhing appellation of the Engliſh Longinus. There is moſt undoubtedly great merit in this performance; in which the author's ingenuity is, however, more conſpicuous than either the extent of his knowledge, or the profundity of his judgment. The affectation of treating ſubjects philoſophically, whoſe philoſophical principles he ſhould have firſt diſcovered, hath induced him frequently to amuſe us with the ſhadow of an argument inſtead of its ſubſtance. Hence he bewilders his readers in the ſearch after the origin of abſtract and abſtruſe ideas,

Poets and Philosophers.	Captains,	Berkenhout, Cleland, Bickerstaff, Goldsmith,
	Doctors,	Rose, Kenrick,
	and	Lloyd, Langhorne,
	Plain 'Squires.	Kelly, Shaw, Hiffernan.

To which may be added, the celebrated John Wilkes, Peter Annet, and a long liſt of nameleſs pedagogues, parſons, poetaſters, publiſhers, printers, preſs-men, and printer's devils.

by directing them to consult their imagination rather than their perceptions:——their conceptions, which are ever misleading, instead of their sensations; which, while they are trusted no farther than they reach, cannot deceive. Had he made Lord Bacon his philosophical guide, instead of imitating Lord Bolingbroke, he would have considered that, like many other modern sophists, he began at the wrong end of investigation, by running rashly into the maze of metaphysical speculation, without taking with him the clue of physical experiment. Even Locke might have taught him what he did not practise himself, to distinguish between complex notions and simple ideas, and to admit only those of the latter, which are evidently deducible from sense.

The similarity of genius, already observed, which our author possessed, to that of the noble author last mentioned, is, in this tract, peculiarly conspicuous. Splendid in his diction, and specious in his argument, he commanded the attention, and captivated the fancy of the reader;

der; but, more florid than perſpicuous, more ſuperficial than ſolid, however the flowers of his rhetoric might dazzle and perſuade, the force of his reaſoning was ineffectual either to inſtruct or convince. In ſoaring up to the ſublime, he ſoared out of ſight, and with the eccentricity of a comet ruſhed from a blaze of light into darkneſs and obſcurity. In purſuit of the beautiful he carried his refinement to ſuch a degree of delicacy, that it loſt its eſſential quality of pleaſing. The form of beauty is no longer amiable than it is palpable to ſenſe.

Or JUNIUS, therefore, conſidered in the capacity of a philoſopher, it may be ſaid as of his favorite BOLINGBROKE, in the words of a late writer, that "by having endeavoured at too much, he has done nothing; though, as a political writer, few can equal, and none exceed him." His *forte* does not lie in developing the philoſophical ſecrets of nature, and diſcloſing the myſterious operations of the human mind; but in diſcovering the political ſecrets

crets of ſociety, and in expoſing the iniquitous machinations of government.

And here the compariſon between Bolingbroke and Junius ends: the great abilities of the former having been exerted to introduce the tyranny of arbitrary power, and to enſlave his country; while to the latter, common gratitude induces us to look up, as to a friend and benefactor both of his country and of mankind.

It has been objected, indeed, and that with ſome appearance of reaſon, againſt the diſintereſtedneſs and integrity of his character, that he has made the public ſtation ever ſubſervient to his private intereſt; and that he has not only been actuated in his political writings more by a ſpirit of party than of patriotiſm, but that private pique hath often aggravated his cenſure, as perſonal attachment has animated his applauſe.

In anſwer to this objection, it may be obſerved, that, to poſſeſs the zeal and diſintereſtedneſs

neſs of a patriot without the paſſions of a man, is impoſſible; and were it poſſible, is by no means deſirable. The coſmopolite, who affects a friendſhip for all mankind in general, is ſeldom a friend to any particular individual. He who has a kindneſs for *every* body, muſt have a large ſtock of benevolence indeed to have much kindneſs for *any* body. General goodwill muſt flow from a particular ſource; and, as the ſtream muſt be proportional to the fountain whence it ſprings, the more extenſive its ſurface, the more ſhallow will be its depth.—In order that a man may be a friend to others, it behoves him to be a conſtant friend to himſelf. If JUNIUS, when in office, had not profited by the accuſtomed and legal perquiſites of his poſt, he would have been imprudently his own enemy. That a man ſhould make his ſtation alſo, in all other reputable reſpects ſubſervient to his intereſt, who was not born to an affluent fortune, is certainly excuſable in an age and country, which countenance the firſt fortunes in the kingdom, in the ſhameful practices of place-hunting, ſtock-jobbing, match-making, and even match-marring, for

the

the ſake of gratifying the pitiful paſſions of avarice and petty ambition in the ſaving or accumulation of a few thouſands, to add profuſion to a plentiful patrimony. It is a ſtrong preſumption, however, that he cannot be much a knave who is known to be conſiderably duped: and that JUNIUS is ſo little an adept in the tricks of the alley, as to have run great riſques of being ſtigmatiſed, in its cant phraſe, for a lame duck is notorious.

BUT our author, it is ſaid, hath not only conſtantly oppoſed adminiſtration, when his patrons and himſelf were out of place; but has affected to deſpiſe, and has really neglected his fellow-patriots engaged in the ſame cauſe; and hath even eſpouſed the cauſe and defended the perſons of its enemies.

WE ſhall not take upon us very warmly to commend his replies to the ſeveral pamphlets and papers written in ſupport of the miniſters preceding and ſucceeding the Rockingham adminiſ-

miniſtration*. Theſe were undoubtedly dictated in ſome meaſure by the ſpirit of party, and were confeſſedly more immediately calculated for the ſervice of his patrons than for that of the nation. It is ſome extenuation, however, if not a total exculpation of the criminality of thoſe productions, if our author really thought, as no doubt he profeſſes to do, that the intereſt of his patrons, and that of his country, are inſeparably connected. Be this as it may, the like objection cannot be made to the letters contained in the preſent publication; which moſt opportunely made their firſt appearance at a time, when the moſt direct and violent attacks were made and making on the liberties and conſtitution of our country.

At ſuch a juncture, to ſtand forth their profeſſed champion, was worthy the fortitude and abilities of Junius. That he has apparently

* Among which the replies to the *Budget*, and the *Conſiderations on the preſent State of the Nation*, with others of leſs note, are imputed to our author.

neglected, and even affected publickly to contemn the man, in whose person those flagrant and flagitious atempts were made, is certain. But, whether he looked on him with an envious eye, as a more favoured rival in the popular esteem, or was causelesly jealous of his reputation for literary talents, as a political writer, or from what other motive this seeming neglect was occasioned, is of little consequence to the public. It is of much more, that such neglect was in too great a degree real. It is true indeed, that for some time our author was a private advocate for WILKES and LIBERTY* but it is no less true, that he soon after conceived

* Among other instances that might be given is the following:—Mr. Trecothick, the late Lord Mayor, it is well known, owed his election, as representative in parliament for the city, greatly to the good offices of Mr. WILKES; who requested his friends, at the latter end of the poll, when single votes could not possibly be of service to him, to poll also for Mr. TRECOTHICK, instead of SIR RICHARD GLYNN, to whom they were mostly inclined. This request had its effect, and Mr. TRECOTHICK accordingly got a-head of SIR RICHARD.—This manœuvre was the consequence of a previous intimation, if not assurance of JUNIUS to Mr. WILKES, that he, with the

ceived the words ill-paired, joined not matched, and determined therefore in his own mind to part them. In conſequence of this determination, he appears ever ſince to have carefully diſtinguiſhed on all occaſions between the cauſe of Mr. WILKES and that of the public; or, rather as ſome will have it, between the perſonal intereſt of Mr. WILKES, a common friend, and that of LORD ROCKINGHAM, his particular friend and patron.

IN making this diſtinction, fatal alas! in its conſequences, it is obſervable that he either ſet or followed the example of another great rival in popularity, LORD CHATHAM; who ſeemed as cautious of being hooked into any connection with WILKES, as if that unfortunate patriot were contagiouſly infected with a political peſtilence.

the other friends of TRECOTHICK would *totis viribus* ſupport Mr. WILKES on any other occaſion. The then-more-popular-patriot, however has been known, under the chagrin of diſappointment, to exclaim more than once ſince, "Out "upon ſuch half-faced fellowſhip." Whether JUNIUS or TRECOTHICK has given him moſt reaſon for ſuch exclamation, perhaps Mr. SAMUEL VAUGHAN can determine.

UNHAPPILY for this country, the diffidence, diſtruſt, and diviſion which thus aroſe between the parties ſo greatly intereſted in, and deſirous of promoting the ſame common cauſe, have not only prevented their private ſucceſs, but hath at the ſame time occaſioned the cauſe of the public to miſcarry.

BY the thunder of CHATHAM's elocution within doors, the ſpirit and adroitneſs of WILKES's addreſſes without, and the ſtill more powerful and perſuaſive rhetoric of JUNIUS's letters and harangues both without and within, what might not have been done?—What might not the united talents of ſuch a triumvirate have effected?—What people ſo daſtardly or depreſſed as not to be arouſed by ſuch a pathetic repreſentation of their grievances?—What people ſo tame as not to be fired with indignation againſt their oppreſſors, and animated to avenge their wrongs?—What favorite ſo deſervedly deteſted, what miniſtry ſo deſervedly deſpiſed, what parliament ſo dreadfully degenerated and daringly defied, could have ſtood

ſtood their ground againſt the ductility of a poſitive prince ſo earneſtly entreated, and the clamours of a remonſtrating nation ſo artfully irritated, and ſo furiouſly incenſed?

UNHAPPY, we ſay again, is it for this kingdom and its colonies, that the demon of diſcord had thus ſown the ſeeds of diſſention, that grew up into a diviſion of the three perſons, apparently intended by Providence to meet at the ſame period, to ſnatch a great nation from long impending ruin. But, alas! the hour is elapſed, the day of grace is paſſed! Private pique, diſtruſt and animoſity have proved fatal to the public good. The Britiſh Empire is devoted to deſtruction; becauſe its ableſt friends could not join in having the honor of contributing to its ſafety, or in ſharing the ſpoils of thoſe who ſought that deſtruction.

THE political wizard, who propheſied we ſhould in a month be no longer a nation, knew, like other politic conjurers, well what he ſaid.

He

He knew that he had been lately for months, as he had been for years before, co-operating to the effectual completion of his prophecy.—A free nation muſt ever be free. When it loſes its freedom, it is no longer a nation.—The conſtitution may ſurvive long debilitated, but when it is once broken, the body politic, and the body natural, meet approaching diſſolution, deſcend to the grave together, and the day of their reſurrection is afar off. From the virility of a favorite, the debility of adminiſtration, and the ſervility of a parliament, Britiſh liberty hath received its death's wound. It expires under the hands of the ableſt ſurgeons, merely becauſe they cannot agree about the punctilios of their profeſſion. Even Junius—even to you Junius might we ſafely appeal. Tell us, if you do not think the united efforts of the patriotic triumvirate above mentioned; if the co-operating talents of the head, hand, and heart of Junius, Wilkes, and Chatham, might not have ſaved, what each ſeparately wiſhed to have ſaved, and what, though thoſe very efforts were now united,

ed, is probably paſt redemption. Yes, JUNIUS, England is deſtined to a ſtate of ſlavery, perhaps for ages, unleſs ſome political empiric, daring and unprincipled as CROMWELL, ſhould adminiſter a remedy as bad as the diſeaſe, and relieve her awhile from one ſpecies of tyranny to ſubject her to another. Her chains were forged by her moſt inveterate, though inteſtine enemies: But when they were brittle, and might eaſily have been broken, her diſcordant friends, inſtead of boldly burſting them aſunder, timidly ſuffered them to anneal, and acquire a durable, a dreadful temper.

BUT if not indebted even to JUNIUS for its preſervation, the nation owes to him at leaſt a true ſenſe of its loſt, forlorn condition. It is to his unequalled penetration and unparalleled intrepidity it owes the detection and expoſure of numerous errors in theory, and wilful miſtakes in practice, that have of late years diſgraced both the legiſlature and executive part of government. The court, the camp, the bar,

bar, the heads of the council, the army and the law, has he boldly brought to that bar, to which they all are, and ought to be amenable, the bar of the public. It is to JUNIUS the nation principally owe the unwelcome, though certain and neceſſary knowledge, that the ſo much admired, and once truly admirable, conſtitution of England is rotten to the core. It is to JUNIUS we owe the certain information that tyranny and arbitrary power have ſeated themſelves, and would preſide in every court, whether of legiſlature or judicature, in the kingdom. How much more ſhould we have owed him, had he thought himſelf leſs indebted to his patrons than his country, or could have ſeen their intereſt in different or ſeparate lights. But if ingratitude be the worſt of crimes, how criminal were it in the public to impute gratitude as a crime to JUNIUS; however unfortunate it may be, that pride and partiality, the common failings of humanity, have prevented his being ſufficiently virtuous*.

AN

* Eſpecially if, what is aſſerted on good authority be true, that JUNIUS has neglected repeated intimations, and refuſed repeated

An exceptionable paſſage in the conduct of Junius is doubtleſs the panegyric he laviſhed before a great aſſembly, on the flagitious author of an infamous pamphlet, entitled the "Falſe Alarm;" a pedantic pedagogue, who after having ſpent half a century of his life in cultivating a rooted antipathy to the family on the throne, and the moſt rancorous abuſe of the Hanover ſucceſſion, had accepted of that gratuitous emolument from the crown which he had conſtantly ſtigmatiſed as the wages of iniquity; and, in his old age, moſt ſervilely proſtituted his pen for that wretched hire he had ſo long and ſo loudly condemned. And yet, becauſe this formal pedant could expatiate on trifles, ſwell inſignificance by amplification, give verboſity to ſenſe and pompoſity to ſound, he was defended by Junius as a paragon of integrity: as if men of letters were privileged

repeated overtures, of the moſt advantageous offers, made him under the ſanction of the greateſt perſonage in this kingdom, on condition of his abandoning the patrons, to whom he has ſo long and ſo faithfully adhered.

to betray their country, and the ſuperior knowledge of what is right entitles men to do wrong.

ANOTHER paſſage ſtill more exceptionable, is the publication of his pamphlet entitled—"Conſiderations on the Cauſes of the preſent "Diſcontents:" in which it is objected againſt him by ſome, that he has fairly thrown off the maſk of the patriot, and expoſed the bare face of the partiſan.

To this we cannot altogether ſubſcribe, tho' certain it is that the difference of ſentiment, with regard to immaterial circumſtances, affected by our popular patriots, like the hair-breadth diſtinctions of polemical divines, have rather ſerved to perplex the general cauſe of debate, and puzzle the diſputants, than to clear up or enforce the main point of diſpute.—Thus, this ſpirited and elaborate diſcuſſion of national grievances, by its author's diſſenting in particulars from the mode of relief propoſed by others, produced a futile altercation;

a war

a war of words with a woman, more profuſe in their utterance than accurate in their uſe. But ſhe was popular—She was diſtinguiſhedly called the Female Hiſtorian ; and as ſuch had been long ſince ſpoken of with recommendatory reſpect in a great aſſembly by the pompous patriotic peer we have ſo often mentioned ; a lord, juſt as capable a critic, as the lady is an author. The Earl of Chatham however has declared, and that in a manner which no gentleman will contradict, that Mrs. Macauley is a moſt excellent writer ; and who, that knows how well his lordſhip writes himſelf, will dare to doubt it, except thoſe who affect to lament, that of the two moſt favourite hiſtories of this country, the one was penned by a man who was a perfect ſtranger to the idiom of the Engliſh tongue, and the other by a woman equally ſo to the grammar of any language whatever ? But the male is a Scotch Philoſopher, and the female an Engliſh patriot ; circumſtances which, with their reſpective parties, cover, like charity, a multitude of ſins, whether againſt loyalty, grammar or common ſenſe.

As to the extreme ſeverity with which JUNIUS has occaſionally treated ſome reſpectable characters, it is to be conſidered, that in regard to the circumſtances for which they are cenſured, they are far from being reſpectable; and that their allowed merit or accuſtomed diſtinction, in other reſpects, required for the ſake of example, a more than ordinary ſeverity of chaſtiſement. The cauſe of truth, of jùſtice, of his country, demanded the caſtigation of ſuch ſuperior delinquents, from the hand of him only who was ſo well qualified to inflict it.

As a mitigation however, of this ſeverity, and an exculpation of JUNIUS from the rancour of ſo much perſonal reſentment, it is to be farther obſerved, that though the ſtile and ſentiment of the letters in queſtion may be imputed to one writer, the materials of information with which they abound, were furniſhed by different hands.

JUNIUS is in this view a junto: of which *Nos numerus ſumus*, might indeed with propriety

ety be the motto of ſome; but others had not only their ſuggeſtions and inſtructions to offer, but alſo their piques and diſappointments to revenge. If JUNIUS was ſometimes influenced by theſe, he is the more excuſable; as, however ſevere his reprehenſions, they appear to have ever been founded on juſtice and truth.

THIS aſſociation, under a ſingle name, appeared to have been of ſome conſequence to the perſonal ſafety of this writer; who, as he could not take upon him to be the author of all the anecdotes communicated to him, and at the ſame time was not authorized to diſcloſe the informant, could not be expected to juſtify in his own perſon, every thing for which he might be called to account. The communicating parties therefore bound themſelves, it ſeems, reciprocally to ſupport each other: a circumſtance of which the real JUNIUS was wiſe enough to profit in an altercation that happened between him and a gentleman of rank in the army who had been very roughly handled in one of his letters. "I am informed, Sir, "ſaid the officer, that you wrote the letter "which

" which appeared in to-day's Public Adverti-
" ſer, under the ſignature of JUNIUS. I ſhall
" be obliged to you if you would tell me
" whether you did or not." " Really, Sir,"
replied our author, " that is a queſtion I can-
" not be ſo obliging as to anſwer, as I ſee no
" reaſon for your aſking me the queſtion. If
" you believe your informer it is needleſs, and
" if you do not, it is rather rude to found
" your ſuſpicion of me on the information of
" one you ſuſpect to be a liar." " Sir," re-
turned the officer warmly, " Lord T— chal-
" lenged Mr. W— on a ſimilar occaſion, and
" I think it is a queſtion a gentleman has a
" right to aſk, and a reaſon to expect an an-
" ſwer."—" You, ſir," returned JUNIUS cool-
ly, " may adopt the conduct of Lord T— if
" you pleaſe; but I aſſure you I ſhall not
" make Mr. WILKES's the ſtandard of mine."
" I am determined I will ſomehow have ſatis-
" faction." " You are perfectly right, ſir, but
" you have no right to make me determine the

" quo

" *quo modo.*" " Are not you JUNIUS?" angrily ——" If I were, ſir, and you were to diſ-" patch one JUNIUS to-day, you would have " another to encounter before the end of the " week," turning round on his heel and walking away. The military gentleman was ready to burſt with rage at the affected *ſang-froid* of our author, but not having the keen-killing ſtomach of a Bobadil, he ſtifled his reſentment and ſuffered the matter to drop. A more pleaſant inſtance of this multifarious character of JUNIUS was given the public, in his haſty and inadvertent reply to a letter addreſſed to him in the news-papers by a ſuppoſed female writer; to which our author, in his *gaité de Cœur*, returned ſo light and ludicrous an anſwer, that it was condemned, it ſeems, in full conclave, by the greater parts of the individual units of the junto; whether becauſe they judged its wit to be incompatible with politics, or that they thought its levity unbecoming the pen of a writer, engaged in the diſcuſſion of the important affairs of government. JUNIUS therefore was reduced to the diſagreeable taſk of diſowning his own hand-

hand-writing, and imputing the fault to a miſtake of the printer, who, it was pretended, was deceived by a ſtriking ſimilitude of the penmanſhip. But could this ſimilitude be accidental? Or, could a correſpondent not in the ſecret of the junto, copy the hand-writing of Junius ſo nearly as to deceive the printer? *Credat Judæus Apella.*

FINIS.

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